THE NEGRO IN GREEK AND ROMAN CIVILIZATION

A STUDY OF THE ETHIOPIAN TYPE

BY

GRACE HADLEY BEARDSLEY

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Board of University Studies of the Johns Hopkins University in Conformity with the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

1922

(Extract from a complete illustrated volume published by the Johns Hopkins Press)

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PREFACE

No barbarian race held as continuous an interest for the Greek and Roman artist as the Ethiopian. Realistic portraits of other known races in the classical world are relatively few and belong usually to the Hellenistic and Roman eras. The negro, on the other hand, was rendered with the utmost fidelity to the racial type during the most restrained and idealistic period of Greek art. Attic vase painters who were content to indicate Orientals by their dress with scarcely any distinguishing marks of race, delineated with marked realism the woolly hair and thick lips of the Ethiopian. From its earliest appearance the popularity of the type never waned in any productive period of classical art.

Due to the humble position of the Ethiopian in Greece and the fact that realism was usually confined to smaller objects the great sculptors did not consider him a sufficiently dignified or important subject, since life-sized heads and statues are comparatively few. But for smaller objects the popularity of the type was tremendous, and is attested by a wealth of statuettes, vases, engraved gems, coins, lamps, weights, finger-rings, ear-rings, necklaces and masks from classical sites.

Literary evidence as to the status of the black race in Greek and Roman life is very slight and to supplement our knowledge one must turn to the art objects which show the type. Interest was drawn to this problem at the time when the excitement over the abolition of negro slavery was raging in the United States prior to the Civil War. The earliest important work on the subject was a monograph entitled *Die Aethiopen der altclassischen Kunst,* by J. Loewenherz, published in an important year in negro history, 1861. This monograph does not fulfill the promise of its title, for the examples in art are subordinated to a study of the Memnon myth and a discussion of the real and mythical Ethiopian

lands. In 1885 Von Schneider published an article [1] in which he classified chronologically the examples which he knew, and which he later supplemented by a list of examples brought to his attention in the interval.[2] The most important contribution to the subject has recently been made by Buschor in an article entitled *Das Krokodil des Sotades,*[3] which gives a very full account of the negro on vases of the fifth century.

Other work on the question has been confined to the publication of individual specimens which have come into museum or private collections. Sometimes this has been made the basis of a substantial article as in the case of Schrader [4] who compares at great length a head of a Libyan in the British Museum with a head of a negro in Berlin and who assembles some examples of Ethiopians relevant to his discussion. But in the main such articles have done no more than list a few unrelated examples of the type and make some inaccurate generalizations. This is probably due to the fact that only a few of the ancient negro portraits are well known, since only a few have been widely reproduced by illustration. The need for a new and more complete list has been frequently expressed. Wace expressed the hope that this would form a part of Bienkowski's *Corpus Barbarorum.*[5] Von Schneider, who had great interest in the subject, announced his intention of supplementing his list by a more complete study but died without realizing this aim.

At the suggestion of Professor David M. Robinson this study was undertaken. Representations of the negro type have proved to be so common that a complete list is an impossibility, as practically every museum or private collection contains one or more examples. This forces us to depend on catalogues, and as many negro types occur on minor objects

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[1] *Jb. Kunst. Samml.*, III, 1885, pp. 3 ff.
[2] *Jh. Oest. Arch. Inst.*, IX, 1906, pp. 321-324.
[3] *Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, pp. 1-43.
[4] *Berlin Winckelmannsprogram*, LX, 1900.
[5] *B. S. A.*, X, 1903-4, p. 108.

they are not always illustrated. But the writer feels that the range of cases here given is sufficiently extended so that the principal types have all been included and she is encouraged by the very incomplete knowledge shown in previous references on the subject. She has visited many European and American museums in her study of the negro but lays no claim to a complete knowledge of all examples. The terminology has been a real difficulty, since the popular and the scientific understanding of the word "negro" are at variance. European usage in this matter is far from uniform and often careless. The German archaeologists use "Neger" and "Mohr" indiscriminately as synonymous, even Buschor in his excellent article employing them in the same sentence. Museum catalogues use one term as frequently as the other and a study of the objects shows that they are not employed to distinguish a Moor from a Sudanese but that the usage is very loose. The French archaeologists use "nègre" to cover all variations of dark skin regardless of the features or hair. This is doubtless because of more frequent contact with France's North African colonies than with those south of the Great Desert. English scholars, more familiar with Egypt, frequently call these classical negroes Nubians, a usage which has considerable warrant in that many entered Greece by way of Egypt from Nubia. The English also employ the word "negro" but the longer term Ethiopian is generally avoided.

Science limits the name "negro" to one group of African races, the Ulotrichi, the determining factor being, not the skin, but the crisply curling so-called woolly hair. The principal representatives of this group are the stock of Senegambia and Guinea, and its other outstanding characteristics are a short, broad nose, thick, projecting lips, a prominent jaw and abnormally long arms. So complicated are the racial and tribal divisions and subdivisions in Africa with their varying characteristics that the classification of the art types according to racial origins is too difficult for the archaeologist. America, with a delicate race problem on her hands, has long since dis-

regarded any scientific distinctions between the various African types, and the popular usage in this country defines a negro in the terms of the color line. Generally speaking racial feeling is directed against skin, and variations of the hair and features are not taken into account. The use of the word is further complicated by existing legal definitions such as that of the State of North Carolina, which declares any person a negro who has in his veins one-sixteenth or more of African blood.

Greek literature has no such confusion in nomenclature and gives very generally to any member of any dark-skinned tribe the name Αἰθίοψ, which the Greek geographers derived from αἰθός and ὄψ that is to say, a man with a (sun) burned face. It is not at all restricted to the kingdom of Meroë south of Egypt. The Greek use of *Aithiops*, therefore, closely parallels the popular use of negro and is quite at variance with its restricted scientific use. To use negro in its scientific sense in the present study would be to exclude many Ethiopians. To defer to popular usage would be unscientific and would cause frequent misunderstandings. Therefore it seems best to retain the Greek word in its English form, *Ethiopian*, and to indicate genuine negro types under the individual descriptions, particularly since this study limits its scope to Ethiopians in Greece and Rome and is not concerned with their original African homes.

My heartiest thanks are due to Professor David M. Robinson who has supervised and assisted in all stages of preparation with that generosity well known to all his students and to Professor Tenney Frank, who read a portion of the manuscript.

THE NEGRO IN GREEK AND ROMAN CIVILIZATION

CHAPTER I

The Ethiopian in Greek Literature

The absence of exact geographical knowledge of Africa and eastern Asia is the basic reason for the profound confusion in the Greek mind about the Ethiopians. Appearing in Homer as the comrades of the Olympic gods, interwoven with the myths of Memnon and Andromeda, emerging actually as persons of curious appearance from the lands south of Egypt, it is small wonder that writers like Strabo and Pausanias found it difficult to reconcile them in geography and legend, and that in different periods they were identified with widely differing peoples.

The confusion begins with Homer himself, to whom Ethiopia was a land at the remotest border of the world beside the stream of Ocean. Here dwelt a blameless race of men who held sacrificial feasts which the gods attended; Zeus and the other gods in *Il.* I, 423-4:

> Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐς Ὠκεανὸν μετ' ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆας
> χθιζὸς ἔβη κατὰ δαῖτα, θεοὶ δ' ἅμα πάντες ἕποντο

Iris in *Il.* XXIII, 205-7:

> οὐχ ἕδος · εἶμι γὰρ αὖτις ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥέεθρα,
> Αἰθιόπων ἐς γαῖαν, ὅθι ῥέζουσ' ἑκατόμβας
> ἀθανάτοις, ἵνα δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ μεταδαίσομαι ἱρῶν

and Poseidon in *Od.* I, 22-24:

> Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Αἰθίοπας μετεκίαθε τηλόθ' ἐόντας,
> Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίαται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,
> οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος—

In another passage the Ethiopians were visited by Menelaus, *Od.* IV, 84:

Αἰθίοπας θ' ἱκόμην καὶ Σιδονίους καὶ Ἐρεμβούς

They were included in a list of places decidedly near-eastern; and with Homer begins also the conception of the two-fold Ethiopians (cf. *Od.* I, 24 as quoted above), those of the east and the west, of the rising and the setting sun. We are given no clue as to which group of Ethiopians was visited by Zeus in company with the other gods, but Poseidon seems to have visited the eastern Ethiopians, since he was in Asia Minor on his way home when he caught sight of Odysseus on his raft,[1] *Od.* V, 282-3:

Τὸν δ' ἐξ Αἰθιόπων ἀνιὼν κρείων ἐνοσίχθων
τηλόθεν ἐκ Σολύμων ὀρέων ἴδεν·

Iris must have been visiting the Ethiopians of the west since she stops at the palace of Zephyrus on her way. But the western Ethiopians play a minor part in Greek mythology for as the Memnon myth grew in importance, the son of the Dawn who was also king of the Ethiopians, fixed them in the East, where Eos and Tithonus dwelt παρ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοῇς ἐπὶ πείρασι γαίης (*Hymn to Aphrodite*, 228).

The Ethiopians of Homer, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν, comrades of the gods rather than of men, are creatures too shadowy for any description of their personal appearance. There is no indication that they were black, no allusion to the later etymology[2] which derived Ethiopians from αἴθω and ὄψ, that is (sun) burnt faces. On the other hand we can not argue that Homer had never heard of dark men because he does not specifically mention them, and in his linking of the Ethiopians so closely with the rising and the setting of the sun he can not have

[1] Cf. Wilamowitz, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, p. 17; Leaf, *Troy, a Study in Homeric Geography*, pp. 309-310.

[2] Cf. Stephanus of Byzantium, *Thesaurus s. v.* Αἰθίοψ; *Etym. Mag. s. v.* Αἰθιοπία; Suidas *s. v.* Αἰθίοψ.

been entirely unmindful of the action of the sun's rays. It is not inconceivable to see in the western Ethiopians, who seem to have no other *raison d'être* than to fill a geographical gap, a subconscious reasoning that the sun must color men dark in the region where it sets not less than where it rises. But they are entirely fabulous and any attempt to place them in a fixed geographical scheme is futile, since Homer himself says that we do not know the places where the sun rises and sets, *Od.* X, 190-192:

> ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γάρ τ' ἴδμεν ὅπη ζόφος οὐδ' ὅπη ἠώς,
> οὐδ' ὅπη ἠέλιος φαεσίμβροτος εἶσ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν
> οὐδ' ὅπη ἀνεῖται.

Only the Ethiopians visited by Menelaus have a faint ring of reality, as these are listed with actually existing peoples including Egyptians. If we wish to think that Homer had heard vaguely of dark men in the south it proves nothing that Menelaus visited them by ship. Shakspere in an age of greater knowledge gave a sea-coast to Bohemia.

References to Ethiopians in Hesiod are hardly more definite than in Homer. In a fragment quoted by Strabo VII, 3, 7, Hesiod lists Ethiopians with Ligurians and Scythians, people of whom Hesiod could have no very definite knowledge but who are not mythical.[3] Löwenherz (p. 9) is wrong in saying that Hesiod has actual information about African Ethiopians since he names them together with the Libyans. There is no manuscript warrant for reading Libyans here nor any reason for substituting them unless Hesiod shows elsewhere that he knows the real location of Ethiopia. This he does not, for in *Theogony* 984-5 the Ethiopians are without a definite home, and Memnon the son of Eos is their king. Hesiod in the fragment is apparently listing a few tribes who are to him extremely remote, the extremes of north, west and south. Nor is there in Hesiod any specific reference to the Ethiopian

[3] Cf. Rzach, *Hesiodi Carmina*, p. 148, frag. 55 *Αἰθιοπάς τε Λίγυς τε Σκύθας ἱππημολγούς*. The Strabo mss. read *Λιγυστὶ δὲ*.

color, though nameless dark men in the south are referred to for the first time in the *Works and Days* where (527) it is said that in winter the sun goes *ἐπὶ κυανέων ἀνδρῶν δῆμόν τε πόλιν τε*. In spite of the gloss, *Αἰθιόπων-Μαύρων-κυανέων*, the reference here may be to Egyptians, though the adjective *κυανέοισι* is later applied to Memnon's Ethiopians by Quintus of Smyrna, II, 101. In a fragment of Mimnermus (Bergk[4] 12; Diehl 10) the sun goes *γαῖαν ἐς Αἰθιόπων ἵνα δὴ θοὸν ἅρμα καὶ ἵπποι | ἑστᾶσ', ὄφρ' Ἠὼς ἠριγένεια μόλῃ*. The Ethiopians are again in the East and the western Ethiopians have disappeared, at least for the time being, for Mimnermus evidently thinks of them as sufficiently fixed in the east to be synonymous with it and sufficiently mythical to be contrasted with the Hesperides.

Aeschylus is the first Greek writer to place the Ethiopians definitely in Africa. Prometheus (*Prom.* 808-9) refers to a dark race, *κελαινὸν φῦλον*, who dwell near the springs of the sun where the Ethiopian river is, *ποταμὸς Αἰθίοψ*. Were it not for mention of the Nile River and the Egyptians this would sound like a complete return to the mythical Ethiopians near the stream of Ocean. The reference to the springs of the sun and the fact that in the *Suppliants* (280-2) they were neighbors of the Indians show that Aeschylus' geography was very inexact. In fact the Ethiopians again recede into a mythical haze in a fragment (Nauck 192) from the *Prometheus Unbound* of Aeschylus quoted by Strabo, I, 2, 27:

> *φοινικόπεδον τ' ἐρυθρᾶς ἱερὸν*
> *χεῦμα θαλάσσης,*
> *χαλκοκέραυνόν τε παρ' Ὠκεανῷ*
> *λίμναν παντοτρόφον Αἰθιόπων,*
> *ἵν' ὁ παντόπτας Ἥλιος αἰεὶ*
> *χρῶτ' ἀθάνατον κάματόν θ' ἵππων*
> *θερμαῖς ὕδατος*
> *μαλακοῦ προχοαῖς ἀναπαύει.*

Strabo, who tries hard to reconcile the Ethiopia of Homer

and Aeschylus with his own geographical knowledge, explains this passage by saying that since the stream of Ocean refreshes the sun along the whole southern belt, Aeschylus appears to place his Ethiopians along this whole belt. They are probably also the μελανστέρφων γένος (Nauck, *Aes.*, Fr. 370) preserved by the scholiast of Apollonius Rhodius (IV, 1348) who explains that Aeschylus means those whose whole body is dark.

From the vague and unreal Ethiopians of poetry one is recalled into reality rather sharply by Herodotus' matter-of-fact description of two sets of Ethiopians who entered Greece in the army of Xerxes. Herodotus distinguishes sharply between the straight hair of the Asiatic Ethiopians and the woolly hair of those from Africa. They are not presented as corresponding to Homer's twofold Ethiopians, though Homer-loving Greeks must have considered this a verification of the poet's geographical knowledge. Herodotus shows himself a rather superficial observer of racial differences, as he mentions hair as the only distinguishing mark between the two groups, although he goes into their costumes and weapons in some detail.[4] It is significant that nowhere does Herodotus refer to dark skin, apparently taking this for granted as understood, and showing that the identification of Ethiopians with the black races must have dated well before his time.

In view of the fact that Herodotus had discussed the type scientifically, and that vase painters had familiarized it at Athens some time before the plays of Euripides were produced, one is surprised to have the Ethiopians again retire to a mythical landscape on the world's edge as they do in a fragment of the *Phaethon* of Euripides.[5] But even though the Ethiopians are again mythical they are by now surely dark; it is made explicit that Ethiopia, the country implied by the proper names, is the home of the swarthy race who daily are the first to be struck by the golden flame of the sun.

[4] Cf. Her. VII, 70. For the eastern Ethiopians mentioned by Herodotus, cf. Macan's note and A. H. Keane, *Ethnology*, C. XI.

[5] Cf. Nauck, Euripides, frag. 771 (quoted by Strabo 1, 2, 27).

The explanation is that the Ethiopians have become a fixed literary tradition in Greek poetry, maintaining a separate life of their own and having little to do with reality. Every literature retains certain supernatural beings who become a part of the poetical heritage of their country and who have a long literary history. This is the reason that no inconsistency was felt when poetry suddenly transplanted the Ethiopians from Africa to the extreme east. It is also the reason why the purely poetical western Ethiopians reappear in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius (III, 1190 f.):

> ἠέλιος μὲν ἄπωθεν ἐρεμνὴν δύετο γαῖαν
> ἑσπέριος, νεάτας ὑπὲρ ἄκριας Αἰθιοπήων

in an age when great numbers of terra-cotta figurines portrayed the negro type with a realism that often amounted to caricature. The Ethiopians of the poets—Homer, Hesiod, Mimnermus, Aeschylus, Euripides, Apollonius—are mythical or partly mythical creatures, while the writers of prose—Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny, Heliodorus—dealt with the African reality.

Whenever the mythical Ethiopians appear in conjunction with definite heroes or heroines of mythology they shrink in importance. Interest is centered in the principal actor and mention of them is purely formal, without additional description, as a part of the hero's title. They are closely associated with Memnon, a hero of the epic cycle, and with the post-Homeric myth of Andromeda, daughter of Cepheus and Cassiopeia.

Memnon [6] does not appear in the *Iliad* but is twice referred to in the *Odyssey*, once (though not by name) as the son of Eos who slew Antilochus (IV, 187-8), and once for his great beauty (XI, 522). It will be noted that Homer does not call

[6] Cf. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, I, p. 361; II, pp. 435-6; Roscher, *Lexicon der gr. und röm. Myth. s. v.* Memnon; Gruppe, *Gr. Mythologie*, pp. 679-683; Löwenherz, *Die Aethiopen der altclassischen Kunst*, pp. 18-32.

him the king of the Ethiopians. He is the beautiful son of Eos, and as the son of so fair a goddess he would not have been thought of as dark-skinned. His identification with the Ethiopians, whether known and not mentioned by Homer or developed soon after, seems to be a reconciliation of two distinct legends—one which placed a fabulous race of men at the place where the sun rose, and one which brought a hero son of Dawn to Troy from the sun-rise regions. It was an easy step to make the dawn hero the king of the dawn folk or Ethiopians though the association of the two always puzzled the Greeks. The practical Romans finally made Memnon himself an outright Ethiopian.

That Memnon's association with the Ethiopians was completed before the time of Hesiod is clear, for the Theogony (984-5) names him their king. The identification must have been made before or by the *Aithiopis*, an epic poem assigned to Arctinus of Miletus and lost except for a few fragments and an echo in the *Posthomerica* of Quintus of Smyrna. The fragments do not mention Ethiopians. The central theme of the *Aithiopis*, judging from literary references and vase paintings, was Memnon's participation at Troy on the Trojan side, his victory over Antilochus the son of Nestor, his death at the hands of Achilles and the grief of his mother Eos.[7]

Memnon was originally an eastern or Asiatic hero and many places in Asia were associated with his name. He was particularly connected with Persia where he was thought to have built Susa.[8] But Pausanias says that he went from Ethiopia to Egypt, then to Susa and from there to Troy.[9] For other places associated with him, see Letronne.[10] Later his identification by the Greeks with the so-called "Vocal

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[7] Cf. Gruppe, *op. cit.*, pp. 679-683; Robert, *Scenen der Ilias und Aithiopis;* Lung, *Memnon.*

[8] Cf. Her. V, 54; VII, 151; Pausanias, IV, 31, 5.

[9] Paus. I, 42, 3; X, 31, 7.

[10] *La Statue vocale de Memnon*; Löwenherz, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-9.

Memnon" or statue of Amenophis at Thebes transferred him to Africa and heightened the mystery of his origin.

Asiatic also was the myth of Andromeda,[11] whose parents Cepheus and Cassiopeia were rulers of Ethiopia. Through the command of Ammon she was bound to a rock as a sacrifice to a sea monster and saved by Perseus, who was returning from his battle with Medusa. The myth is not an early one but was well known by the fifth century B. C., where it was a subject for vase painters and dramatic writers. Sophocles and Euripides each wrote an *Andromeda*.[12] The Ethiopian country of the Andromeda legend was also in antiquity a debated point. The similarity between the names *Iope* and *Ethiopia*[13] caused the myth to be localized at Joppa,[14] the presence of a sea monster demanding a sea-coast country. Even in the time of Josephus the traces of Andromeda's fetters were pointed out at Joppa.[15] On the other hand, later writers believed the scene to be African and Heliodorus[16] says that Perseus, Andromeda and Memnon were worshipped as heroes in African Ethiopia.

As Memnon because of his great beauty was evidently white, and Andromeda is white in vase paintings, the ruling caste of Ethiopia must have been considered white. But what was the color of the people ruled over? Greek writers seem to have avoided this problem by silence and the purely formal mention as given above. But the vase painter wanting to portray Memnon or Andromeda was confronted with the necessity of selecting a physiognomy for their followers or servants. Hence on certain vases treated in another chapter negro types appear. And here lies the relevancy of this

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[11] Cf. Hyginus, *Fab.* 64; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, II, 4, 3.

[12] Cf. Nauck, *op. cit.*, pp. 157 ff. and 392 ff.; Gruppe, *op. cit.*, p. 161; *J. H. S.* XXIV, 1904, pp. 99 ff.

[13] Paus. IV, 35, 9.

[14] *Et. Mag. s. v.* Ἰόπη.

[15] Cf. Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* III, 9, .

[16] *Aethiopicon*, IV, 8.

discussion to the problem of the Ethiopian type in art. For the painters did not create fanciful Ethiopians, but apparently reproduced negro types with which they were well acquainted. Negroes had appeared in Athens. Hence, if the legend specified Ethiopians these were the Ethiopians which the painter knew, and they are interesting more for what they can disclose of contemporary slave life in Greece than for their connection with the myth.

The accuracy of knowledge displayed in regard to the geographical Ethiopia by Greek and Roman authors, their involved grouping of the Ethiopian according to habits of eating and living and their uncertain boundaries, is outside the present question. Some time has been given to the mythical Ethiopians because in the first place they are really Greek, a product of the Greek imagination and a tradition of Greek literature. In the second place, Greek poets created the art interest in the Ethiopian type and gave it a legendary aura which can be held in large measure responsible for the curiosity which prompted the reproduction of the type in Greek art. One can almost see the potter look at his model, as he created one of those joyously realistic plastic heads of negroes, and muse "Can these be the blameless Ethiopians of Homer?"

CHAPTER II

The Introduction of the Ethiopian into Greece

Greek literature gives but little information as to the presence of Ethiopians on Greek soil. From Herodotus [1] we learn that they formed a part of the army of Xerxes which invaded Greece in the year 480 B. C. A casual reference in Theophrastus [2] tells us that it was fashionable to have Ethiopian slave characters in the third century B. C. But the evidence of excavations shows that they were known even in Minoan times.

1. Cf. Evans, *B. S. A.*, VII, 1900-01, p. 26; K. Müller, *Jb. Arch. I*, XXX, 1915, p. 272; Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, I, p. 312, fig. 231; p. 526, fig. 383.

A fragment of a painted stucco relief, found at Cnossus, which shows a man's hand fingering a necklace which has pendants in the form of heads of Ethiopian type with large triple earrings, dates from the period of Middle Minoan III. The hair is black and curly, the eyes large, the noses short and the lips thick and red. The color of the skin is a tawny yellow. From the dull orange beads and yellow faces Evans suggests that the material was gold and believes that a man is putting a necklace about a woman's neck perhaps in a wedding ceremony. Evans says that "the golden material of the necklace, coupled with the negroes' heads, seems to point to Nubia—the Egyptian 'Eldorado' as the source of the precious metal," but he also thinks it possible that the gold may have come from some other African source south of the desert by way of Libya, as there is other evidence that the Cretans had relations with the Libyans.

2. Cf. *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 302, 310; figs. 228, c; 230, a, b, and c; II, p. 757, fig. 489.

Faïence fragments found with the so-called Town Mosaic,

[1] Her. VII, 69, 70.

[2] Cf. Theophrastus, *Characters*, VII, Jebb., pp. 62-63.

which date perhaps even earlier from Middle Minoan II times, show types which Evans considers negroid from the swarthy skin color, prognathism, and shape of the torso. He believes that they form part of a siege scene and that some are in the attitude of suppliants. To Late Minoan I b, the age of the great expansion overseas, belong the remains of a fresco on which the "Minoan Captain of the Blacks" is leading the negro troops. The employment of negro auxiliaries by Minoan lords is a historical fact of great significance. Perhaps they indicate conquest in Africa where there were caravan routes to the interior of immemorial antiquity. Their employment as Palace Guards and auxiliaries on European soil is paralleled by the use of Senegalese troops in modern warfare.

3. Cf. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, II, pp. 756-7, pl. XIII.

From these Minoan fragments it is evident that the Cretans had some knowledge of dark races in Africa. This knowledge does not seem to have been carried over to the mainland; Mycenean or Helladic art has not afforded any portraits of Ethiopians and it is difficult to believe with Evans that the Minoans made use of black regiments for their final conquest of a large part of the Peloponnese and Mainland Greece. In any case the art type would have died out with the Indo-European invasions. Beyond this Greek literature is silent and the many representations of the negro type in Greek art must furnish their own interpretation.

The earliest appearance of the Ethiopian type in the art of the mainland is on a series of plastic vases in the form of heads, some single and some janiform. Schneider believed that negroes entered Greece for the first time in the army of Xerxes and that their sudden appearance in art is due to the deep impression left in the minds of those who saw them. A glance at these vases convinces one that here is no memory picture. The racial type is rendered with great fidelity. Here is the true negro type, woolly-haired, prognathous, with broad nose and large everted lips. There is no doubt that Ethiopians were actually on Greek soil and that they served as models for

the potter. These vases from the evidence of their decoration and shape can now be dated in the latter part of the sixth century B. C. Consequently Ethiopians did not enter Greece for the first time in Xerxes' army, and we must look for an earlier link between Greece and Ethiopia.

The most obvious connection between the two geographically is Egypt. Here the Ethiopian had been known for centuries, and had appeared upon Egyptian monuments since the second Dynasty, roughly corresponding to the Early Minoan period. There have recently come to the Boston Museum two excellent painted limestone portraits of an Egyptian Ethiopian prince and princess dating about 3000 B. C. Dr. Reisner calls these "the earliest known portraits of negroes," but it has been wrongly denied that these are negroes by Petrie in *Ancient Egypt,* 1916, p. 48.

Prior to the founding of Alexandria, the strongest bond between Egypt and Greece was the city of Naucratis in the Nile delta. Flinders Petrie (*Naukratis* I, p. 5), and Prinz (*Funde aus Naukratis,* pp. 1-6) place the date of its founding by Milesian colonists in the early half of the seventh century B. C. from the evidence of its pottery and scarab industry, and from the testimony of Greek authors. By the middle of the sixth century it had achieved a marked commercial eminence. It was granted certain privileges and immunities by the government of Egypt. It was the gateway of Egypt for all foreigners, since it was the only port of the delta which foreign ships were permitted to enter. It was, therefore, the most logical place for Greeks to have their first contact with members of the Ethiopian race, and the first negroes to enter Greece were in all probability brought back by returning voyagers from Naucratis.

Naucratis was important not only as a commercial but also as an artistic center, and if we are correct in assuming that Ethiopians became known to Greece by way of this city, we should expect them to appear in thee art of Naucratis before they occur in the art of the mainland. Excavations have

proved this to be the case, and the popularity of the type to have lasted into later centuries. Furthermore the founders of Naucratis were Ionic Greeks from the mainland of Asia Minor and the interrelation between the Ionian art centers in the early period is well established. There is, therefore, additional support for this conjecture in the fact that the Ethiopian type occurs on objects of the seventh and sixth centuries from Cyprus and Rhodes, two islands influenced by the art of Naucratis. Furtwängler (*Griech. Vasenmalerei,* text to pl. 51, pp. 255-260) assigns to an Ionian artist the well known Caeretan hydria depicting the myth of Heracles and Busiris in which Ethiopians are shown as attendants. Karo is of the opinion that the Busiris vase was made in North Africa. Buschor (*Muen. Jb. Bild. Kunst,* XI, p. 36) remarks that the master who painted this hydria must have been familiar with the Naucratite fabric and types. Buschor, however, believes that Ionian artists introduced the negro type into Greek art. This does not contradict the idea that Naucratis played an important part. It only introduces an intermediary step.

The following objects have been found at Naucratis and other places outside the Greek mainland with which Naucratis had trade relations:

Vases

4. London—British Museum—from Naucratis—6th cent. Cf. Petrie, *Naukratis,* I, pl. V, fig. 41, p. 51; Dumont-Chaplain, *Les Céramiques de la Grèce propre;* Walters, *Catalogue of Vases,* II, p. 83, B 102 (33); Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst,* XI, 1919, p. 35.

This vase fragment shows the figure of an Ethiopian from head to waist. The type is strongly marked; the lips are prominent and everted, the nose short and broad, the hair woolly. The head is in profile but the body and arms are full front. The right arm is held out from the body with the forearm extending downward. The left arm is missing above the elbow but was probably held up in the same posture as in the following figure. The shoulders are very broad and the waist narrow. Lines of white down the front of the chest and at

the right elbow seem to indicate that the figure is not nude but is wearing a close-fitting jacket with sleeves. Buschor suggests that this Ethiopian may be one of the attendants of Busiris running away before the attack of Heracles, since he considers that this story originated in Naucratis. It is equally probable that the pose, which recurs on the two following examples is a dancing one, since it is identical with the pose of a number of the revellers on the Fikellura amphora from Samos now in Altenburg. The revellers although painted in solid black are not Ethiopian in feature. The design is in black on a drab ground, with details added in purple and white. Size $2\frac{3}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.

5. London—British Museum—from Naucratis—6th cent. Cf. Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, pl. V, fig. 40; Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 35.

This fragment of a vase shows a figure in black on a light ground similar in pose to the preceding. The face is smaller and the features are so conventionalized that it is not certain that an Ethiopian is meant, though the black paint and similarity of pose make it probable.

6. London—British Museum—from Naucratis—6th cent. Cf. Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, pl. V, fig. 42; Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 35.

This fragment of the same ware shows a figure similar to the foregoing except that the figure is preserved far enough below the knee to indicate the pose. The face also is conventionalized by the prominence of the jaw, and the black color indicates an Ethiopian. The figure is balanced on the right leg, and the left is held in the air as if dancing. White lines on the body probably indicate a garment. Ht. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Fig. 40 on the same plate of the Naukratis publication has the same pose but a different profile and may not be meant for an Ethiopian.

7. Vienna—K. K. Oesterr. Museum—from Caere—6th cent. Cf. *Monumenti*, VIII, pls. XVI and XVII; Masner, *Sammlung antiker Vasen und Terrakotten*, pp. 21-22, 217, pl. II; F. R., pl. 51, pp. 255-261, a complete description and full bibliography.

This black-figured hydria depicts the myth of Heracles

and Busiris, an Egyptian king who made sacrificial victims of all strangers. According to the legend, Heracles permitted himself to be lead to the altar without any show of resistance, but just as the rites were about to commence, turned on Busiris and his priests and killed them with his club and his bare hands. The hydria represents on one side the scene at the altar, where Heracles is despatching Busiris and the Egyptian priests. The other side shows a body-guard of five Ethiopians marching to the assistance of the prostrate king. The Ethiopians are strongly differentiated in type from the Egyptians. Their hair is very woolly and their jaw structure prominent. They are nude except for loin-cloths about their waists, and they carry hooked clubs. They march forward with much spirit and the painter has succeeded in making them life-like and comic. There are no livelier Ethiopians in Greek art. Cf. Fig. 1.

8. Berlin—Antiquarium Inv. 3250—formerly from Cyprus. In Van Branteghem Coll. Froehner, *Catal.*, no. 238; Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, Bibel und Homer*, pl. XCIII, 3; p. 215 3; Furtwängler, *Arch. Anz.*, VIII, 1893, pp. 82-83; Prinz, *Funde aus Naukratis*, p. 105; Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 34, fig. 49.

This ointment vase of faïence in the form of two conjoined heads represents ethnographic types, one a bearded barbarian and the other a negro with a smooth face. The latter has a broad flat nose and thick lips. His woolly hair is indicated by squares blocked out in the faïence. The vase dates from the seventh century and was made at Naucratis, though found in the Larnaca district on Cyprus.

9. London—British Museum Inv. A 1233—from Cyprus. Cf. Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 34, fig. 50.

This janiform ointment vase is similar to the foregoing though differing in the treatment of the Ethiopian's hair. Instead of being blocked out in squares as on the Berlin vase, it is indicated by lozenge-shaped incisions with a dot in the center of each. From the same factory as Nos. 8 and 9 is

probably *Arch. Anzeiger,* 1928, pp. 77 ff., figs. 1 and 2. Cf. below p. 38. Also to the sixth century belongs the oenochoe from Athens in the form of a single negro head with high handle in the Metropolitan Museum (G. R. 570). The hair is indicated by rough dots in light color, the rest black.

Terra-cottas

10. London—British Museum—from Camirus, Rhodes. Cf. *Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum, Guide to the 2nd Vase Room,* pt. 2, 1878, p. 10, 68; Walters, *Catalogue of Terracottas,* p. 118, B 269; Winter, *Terrakotten,* II, p. 449, 1 A.

This figurine of terra-cotta is seated in a crouching position, his right leg drawn up in front of him and his left leg drawn under him. His hands clasp his right knee and his chin rests on them. He has thick, negro-like lips, but his ears are those of a satyr. Ht. 4⅛ in.

11. London—British Museum—from Camirus. Cf. *Synopsis, Guide to 2nd Vase Room,* pt. 2, p. 10, 63; Walters, *Terracottas,* p. 118, B. 270; Winter, *Terrakotten,* II, p. 449, 1 b.

This terra-cotta figurine of an Ethiopian is seated in a similar position, except that both legs are drawn up in front. Traces of red color remain. Ht. 4½ in.

12. London—British Museum—from Camirus. Cf. *Synopsis, Guide to 2nd Vase Room,* pt. 2, p. 10, 64; Winter, *Terrakotten,* II, p. 449, 1 b; Walters, *Terracottas,* p. 118, B 271.

Similar figurine of an Ethiopian. Ht. 4½ in.

13. London—British Museum—from Camirus. Cf. *Synopsis, Guide to 2nd Vase Room,* pt. 2, p. 10, 65; Walters, *Terracottas,* p. 118; B 272; Winter, *Terrakotten,* II, p. 449, 1 b.

Similar terra-cotta figurine of an Ethiopian. The right foot is broken off. Ht. 3⅞ in.

14. London—British Museum—from Camirus. Cf. *Synopsis, Guide to 2nd Vase Room,* pt. 2, p. 10, 66; Walters, *Terracottas,* p. 118, B 273; Winter, *Terrakotten,* II, p. 449, 1 b.

Similar terra-cotta figurine. Ht. 3⅞ in.

15. London—British Museum—from Camirus. Cf. *Synopsis, Guide to 2nd Vase Room,* pt. 2, p. 10, 67; Winter, *Terrakotten,* II, p. 449, I B; Walters, *Terracottas,* p. 118, B 274.

Terra-cotta figurine of an Ethiopian, similar in pose to no. 10. Ht. 4¼ in.

16. New York—Metropolitan Museum—Cesnola Coll.—from Cyprus. Cf. *Atlas of the Cesnola Coll.*, pl. LXXXII, 739; Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Coll.*, p. 362, no. 2320; Winter, *Terrakotten*, II, p. 449, 1 C.

This terra-cotta figurine of an Ethiopian is seated with his right leg drawn up in front of him and his left leg drawn under him. The modelling is crude and the features are indistinct, but the broad nose and thick lips can be distinguished. The eyes are closed. There are remains of a red color on the surface. In type the figure belongs to the series found at Camirus. Ht. 0.09 m.

17. Paris—Louvre—from the Cyrenaica. Cf. Heuzey, *Figurines Antiques de Terre Cuite*, p. 30, pl. 55, 6; Winter, *Terrakotten*, II, p. 449, 1.

This is a terra-cotta figurine of an Ethiopian, similar to the figures from Camirus in the British Museum. The forehead is low, the lips large. Though found in the Cyrenaica, it undoubtedly belongs to the same series. The face is ape-like in expression. Ht. 0.09 m.

Minor Objects

18. Berlin. Cf. Furtwängler, *Aigina*, I, p. 433, no. 19; Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 34.

Paste scarabaeus of Naucratite fabric with an Ethiopian head in high relief. It is not unnatural to find an object imported from Naucratis in Aegina, a city of commercial enterprise in the early period.

19. London—British Museum—from Naucratis. Cf. Petrie, *Naukratis*, II, pl. XVIII, 35; Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 34.

Scarabaeus of paste with a negro's head in high relief. The lips are very full, the nose short and flat.

20. London—British Museum—from Naucratis. Cf. Petrie, *Naukratis*, II, pl. XVIII, no. 61; Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 34.

Paste scarabaeus similar to the foregoing.

21. London—British Museum—from Naucratis. Cf. Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, pl. XXXVII, nos. 4, 9, 11, 26, 83, 133, 141, 142; pl. XXXVII, 8, 9, 10; II, pl. XVIII, 59, 60; Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 34.

Scarabaei of paste with the design of a human head. Buschor considers that they represent Ethiopians. This is probable, though the crudity of the work makes it hard to determine. The majority have the reverse design of a winged animal.

22. London—British Museum—from Naucratis. Cf. Walters, *Terracottas*, p. 443, E 91.

Mould for the front of a paste scarab. The design is the head of a negro with a grinning expression. Diam. $1\frac{1}{8}$ in.

23. London—British Museum—from Tyre. Cf. *Jb. Arch. I*, II, 1887, p. 197.

Steatite in the form of a scarabaeus, the convex side a negro's head. The flat under-surface has a geometric pattern.

24. Munich—Arndt Coll.—from Cyprus. Cf. Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 34, fig. 51.

Head of an Ethiopian carved from steatite, the features similar to those of a steatite pendant in the Metropolitan Museum. This head, however, is carved in high relief in the center of a flat oval surface of steatite. The hair is indicated by raised dots. According to Buschor it was used as a seal.

25. Munich—Arndt Coll.—from Cyprus. Cf. Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 34, fig. 52.

Steatite head of an Ethiopian, smaller than the foregoing. It is carved in high relief from a depression in the center of a flat, round surface. The hair is shown by means of raised dots. The expression is similar to the Ethiopian head on the ear-ring in the Metropolitan Museum, though the features are not as coarse.

26. New York—Metropolitan Museum—Cesnola Coll.—from Cyprus. Cf. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Coll.*, p. 271, no. 1550; *Atlas of the Cesnola Coll.* III, CXV, 2.

Head of a negro carved from steatite. It was intended to be worn as a pendant on a necklace, as it is pierced through above the ears and is flat at the back where it would lie

against the neck. The profile is ape-like because of the prominence of the jaw and the low retreating forehead. The nose is very broad and flat, and the lips wide. The hair is indicated as woolly by a series of drilled holes. Ht. 1⅛ in. Fig. 2.

27. New York—Metropolitan Museum—Cesnola Coll.—from Cyprus. Cf. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Coll.*, p. 380, no. 3161.

Negro head, carved from steatite, as pendant on a gold earring. It is similar in type to the foregoing, but resembles an animal in the exaggeration of the features. The curly hair is indicated by lozenge-shaped incisions similar to those on an ointment vase in the British Museum. A novel feature is that the eye-balls are painted red. Fig. 3.

28. Naucratis, Bulak Museum. Cf. Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, p. 43.

Small head of an Ethiopian of dark blue glass, found in the remains of a private house.

29. London—British Museum—from Cyprus. Cf. Marshall, *Catalogue of Jewellery*, p. 14, 144, fig. 2.

A thin strip of gold embossed with rosettes and conventionalized animal heads. In the center of the strip at the top is the mask of an Ethiopian on its side. The strip was found in a Bronze Age tomb in the Larnaca district where the janiform vase of faïence was found, and is probably one of the earliest instances outside of Egypt. Length 16.1 cm.

At first glance it seems difficult to generalize about objects which have so little uniformity. Naucratis may have introduced the type but its adaptations varied widely. A study of the objects reveals certain general facts. In the art of Naucratis the type occurs on vases and scarabaei. On the island of Rhodes it was adapted to small terra-cotta figurines. On Cyprus it was used as the subject of a series of black steatite heads. On Cyprus were found the two janiform ointment vases, but these belong to Naucratis, and the Caeretan hydria is affiliated with Naucratis. The explanation seems to be that in this early art of Cyprus and Rhodes the Ethiopian was considered apotropaic, while in Naucratis his apotropaic func-

tion was giving way to interest in him as an ethnographic type.

The small objects upon which the negro type is found have long been recognized as prophylactic. Two of the steatite heads, and the pendants of the Minoan necklace were obviously intended to be worn as ornaments. Now the tendency to wear or carry about on the person some small object to counteract the evil eye, ward off harm or bring good luck to the wearer is universally found. The steatite and glass heads, paste scarabaei and the gold strip ornamented with the Ethiopian mask are undoubtedly apotropaic in function. This is the reason that the negro head is always in full front, never in profile. This is the reason that the ugliness of the features has beeen exaggerated. The red eye-balls of the small head on the earring are repulsive and the jaw is so prominent that it seems fairly to represent an animal.

The recurrence of the type on later Greek jewelry has caused the frequent generalization that the negro in Greek art was always prophylactic. This is not true of all periods and types of objects. The Attic artists with characteristic delicacy invested the racial type with a spirit which amounts almost to charm. Ugliness of feature was never stressed. Rather they intrigued the Attic artist because of their strange and novel physiognomy, and their reminiscent association with legendary Ethiopia. But in these earlier centuries of greater superstition and lesser knowledge the small objects with the Ethiopian type are without question prophylactic.

To ward off evil influences was probably also the purpose of the terra-cotta figurines from Camirus. These small figures were all found in graves possibly with the intention of providing dead men with a slave in the next world and were certainly to keep away all harm. All the figurines show practically the same pose. The slave crouches on the ground with one or both legs drawn up in front of him. He rests his head on his hands, which clasped about his knee, and his eyes are closed as if in sleep. Probably they do not simulate

death, as the pose recurs on objects of the fifth century and the Hellenistic period which have no funerary purpose. An inscribed gem of the fifth century, now in the Corneto Museum, shows a crouching Ethiopian as the attendant of a youth who is vigorously pouring oil upon himself after some gymnastic exercises. Several early gems show the sleeping slave alone. The pose is common in statuettes of bronze as well as of terra-cotta from the Alexandrian era, one example even showing an Ethiopian street-hawker asleep in this position, with a tray of fruit in front of him and a pet monkey on his shoulder. Schneider dismisses the question with the remark that the pose was a favorite one for slaves in antiquity. While this statement seems to have been deduced from the frequent occurrence of the figurines rather than to explain them, the pose of the Camirus figurines probably has no special significance. It is a posture regularly found among races accustomed to squatting down on the earth. It was also easier to model a terra-cotta figure seated on a somewhat triangular base which supported the figure than to balance a standing figure in a fragile material.

At Naucratis the Ethiopian slave was better known than on Cyprus or Rhodes. If the Greeks there found him sufficiently ugly to be prophylactic, as evidenced by the many scarabaei, they also found him interesting as a type. It would be absurd to call the Ethiopian of the vase fragments and the Caeretan hydria prophylactic. They are the product of a joyous, almost child-like interest in a new race. The negro perhaps unfortunately has always appealed to the comic side of the Caucasian. The negro's propensity to quick laughter, his feeling for music and the dramatic and his loose-jointed dancing have always made him a popular comedian. We know from Hellenistic objects with the negro type that these characteristics have changed no more than the physiognomy, and the Greeks of Naucratis probably enjoyed them fully as much as we do. The figures on the fragments with their exaggerated eyes and queer jackets are undoubtedly

meant to be comic whether they are dancers or whether they are servants of Busiris running in terror from the onslaughts of Heracles. The artist of the Caeretan hydria is openly inviting laughter at his row of Ethiopian fighters marching with clumsy weapons to a contest already settled.

An interest in the Ethiopian features more scientific than humorous is shown by the makers of the ointment vases in which an Ethiopian is contrasted with an Asiatic. Whether or not these faces were intended as an advertisement of the country from which the perfume came, the intention here was fairly serious and the matter of setting off one type against another presented a very neat problem to the potter. These vases are extremely significant in that they are the link between the art of Naucratis and that of the mainland. The Attic artist who was the first to portray the Ethiopian type adopted the medium of the janiform ointment vase.

CHAPTER III

The Fifth Century—The Ethiopian Type on Plastic Vases

The Ethiopian type in the art of the mainland first appears, as has been said, on plastic ointment vases in the form of heads. These occur singly or conjoined and the type is not confined to ointment vases, being found on drinking cups and pitchers as well.

Ointment Vases

30. Athens—National Museum 2056—from the Cabirium. Cf. Nicole, *Catalogue des Vases Peints*, p. 283.

Plastic ointment vase in the form of the conjoined heads of a cantharus (*Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 15), but the description given by Nicole, who calls it a balsamaire, specifies the spout and vertical handles of an ointment vase. Nicole states that the type of the Ethiopian is identical with that of the following vase with the love name Leagrus.

31. Athens—National Museum 2160—from Eretria. Cf. Hartwig, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1894, pp. 121-128, pl. 6; Klein, *Griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften*, p. 81, 45; Nicole, *Catalogue des Vases Peints*, p. 283, 1227; Ducati, *Storia della ceramica Greca*, II, p. 516, fig. 389.

Ointment vase with cylindrical spout supported by vertical handles, in the form of a head. Perfectly preserved, it is one of the finest examples of the type. The inscription reads *Λέαγρος καλός*. The hair is indicated by raised dots of clay. Hair, lips and eye-balls are in the color of the clay. The outlines of iris and pupil are indicated by incised lines. The nose is too sharp for the typical Ethiopian nose. Diameter of the base 0.04 m., Ht. 0.28 m.

32. Athens—National Museum 11725. Cf. Nicole, *Catalogue des Vases Peints*, p. 283, 1228.

Ethiopian's head of same type as above. There are traces of an illegible inscription at the top. The eyes are painted white and the iris red. Ht. 0.12 m.

33. Berlin—Antiquarium—Sabouroff Coll.—from Attica. Cf. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensamml.*, II, p. 1027, no. 4049; Schrader, *Berliner Winckelm. Program*, VI, 1900, p. 11 and pp. 34-5.

Ointment vase with a cylindrical mouth and two vertical handles above head. The hair is rendered by raised dots of clay, which are unpainted. The forehead is wrinkled. The skin was painted black, leaving the lips in the red color of the clay. There are traces of white on the eye-ball. The face has a lively expression. Ht. 0.105 m.

34. Berlin—Antiquarium. Cf. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung*, II, p. 784, no. 2757.

Vase with a lecythus mouth over an Ethiopian's head. The hair was indicated in the clay and painted. Lips and eyes were left unpainted. Furtwaengler assigns the vase to the latter half of the fifth century. Ht. 0.115 m.

35. Boston—Museum of Fine Arts, 97089. Cf. *Arch. Anz.*, XIV, 1899, p. 145, no. 55; Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 10, pl. IV.

Janiform ointment vase. Both heads are Ethiopians made from the same mould. The forehead is low and retreating, the nose short and flat and the lips thick and protruding. The hair is rendered by raised dots in the clay. The flesh is painted black, but the hair and lips are left in the original clay color for contrast. White paint is applied to the eyeballs, and the pupils are painted black. The vase is referred to as having a "lecythus mouth" in the notice in the *Arch. Anz.* cited above. Figs. 4a and 4b.

36. London—British Museum. Cf. Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, I, pl. XLVI, 2; Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 10.

Janiform ointment vase combining the heads of an Ethiopian and a Greek girl. The profile of the Ethiopian shows the sloping forehead, flat nose, thick lips and prominent jaw of the Boston vase. The Greek girl wears a cap upon which is painted a wreath of ivy leaves, and below it her hair is indicated by three rows of raised dots. The heads have been joined less gracefully than on the Boston vase or the Morgan

vase (45). They are telescoped so that they have a single ear between them and the proportions are less pleasing.

37. Paris—Louvre. Cf. Pottier, *Mon. Piot*, IX, 1903, pls. XI and XII; Herford, *Handbook of Greek Vase Painting*, pp. 10 and 80, pl. 2, fig. a; Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 10.

Janiform ointment vase combining the heads of a negro or negress and a Greek girl. The Ethiopian's profile is identical with that of the Boston and London vases above. The Ethiopian's eyes are almond-shaped and set wide apart. The girl wears a cap painted black on which is a red-figured design of palmettes and cocks. On either side of the girl's neck, running from edge of cap to base, is the inscription καλός written backward.

38. ?—from Calabria. Cf. *Not. Scav.*, 1912, suppl. p. 16, fig. 20; Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 10.

Ointment vase with a cylindrical spout in the form of an Ethiopian's head. The profile is very different from the Boston, London, and Paris vases. The nose is too long and pointed to be the characteristic Ethiopian's nose. The hair, however, is rendered similarly by raised dots of clay and the flesh is painted black. The lips are thick and protruding. Very lifelike. Red lips and white eyeballs.

Drinking Cups

39. Bologna Museum—from the Carthusian Monastery—Certosa. Ht. 0.16 m. Cf. *Bulletino*, 1872, p. 83, no. 36; Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, pp. 14-15; Seltman, *A. J. A.*, XXIV, 1920, p. 15; Pellegrini, *Museo Civico di Bologna*, pp. 211, 466, figs. 131 and 132; Brunn, *Abh. Mün. Akad.*, XVIII, 1888, p. 168; Zannoni, *Scavi d. C.*, p. 333, pl. LXXXX, n. 6, 14.

Janiform vase, one head a white woman, the other an Ethiopian. The hair of the white woman is in rows of raised dots in the Procles technique. There is a wreath of ivy partly on her cap and partly on the mouth of the vase. The eyes are long and narrow, the lips archaic.

The Ethiopian is from the Charinus mould (p. 32). The hair was left in the color of the clay, but there are traces of brown color on the lips and eyes.

40. Boston—Museum of Fine Arts. Cf. *Arch. Anz.*, 1899, p. 144, no. 35; Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 14.

Cantharus in the form of the conjoined heads of an Ethiopian woman and a white girl. There is a band at the top decorated with palmettes in black on a white ground. Under it is the inscription ὁ παῖς καλός. Ht. 0.192 m.

41. Boston—Museum of Fine Arts 9679. Cf. Buschor, *Greek Vase Painting*, p. 120, fig. 101; Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 13, fig. 19; *Arch. Anz.* XVI, 1901, p. 166.

Drinking cup with one handle in the form of a negro's head, surmounted by a large round vase mouth. The wide band is painted in the black-figured technique, showing the vase to be one of the earliest of the drinking-cup group. The single handle extends from the rim of the cup to the back of the plastic head.

The hair is shown by the familiar raised dots which are left in the color of the clay. In the clay color also are the eyebrows and the thick, protruding lips. The details are painted in with elaborate care and give the combination of black-figured and red-figured head a striking appearance. The wrinkles in the forehead have been incised in the clay and those in the corner of the eyes have been added in white paint. The eye-balls have been painted a staring white and the pupils black. The surface of the skin is a glossy black. Fig. 5.

42. Frankfurt—Hist. Mus., formerly in Bourguignon Coll. Ht. 0.20 m., Diam. 0.115 m. Cf. Schaal, *Griech. Vasen aus Frankfurter Sammlungen*, pl. 49; F. R. Text III, p. 93.

Vase in the form of a negro's head with a cup mouth with a band of red-figured painting showing satyrs. Facial type quite distinct from other heads; Greek, more cylindrical and stiff. Outline of hair different, though left in the color of the clay and not indicated by clay dots or rings. The band of red-figured painting shows a satyr of heavier build than those of Sotades. Eyes and lips are unpainted, the rest is varnished black. One-handled drinking cup. Eyebrows raised, forehead concave and does not slope, nose longer, in line with eyes. Flesh part black. Traces of red and white

color on hair, lips, and eye-balls. Schaal thinks that this is an excellent portrait, but evidently does not know other good examples.

The Frankfurt vase has the peculiarity of a hole in the mouth through which wine could be poured. Schaal suggests that this may have been intended to create some sport.

43. Greau Collection. Cf. Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst,* XI, 1919, p. 13; Froehner, *Terrescuites,* 101, pl. V.

Drinking cup with one handle in the form of an Ethiopian's head, dated by Buschor at about the beginning of the fifth century.

44. Leningrad—Hermitage—no. 836. Cf. Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst,* XI, 1919, p. 14.

Janiform cantharus with the heads of an Ethiopian and a white girl.

45. Princeton—Mus. Coll. of Junius Morgan. Cf. *Art and Archaeology,* XX, 1925, p. 120.

Drinking cup in the form of the conjoined heads of a white girl and an Ethiopian, both from the Charinus mould. The white girl is identical with the signed vase of Charinus in the Corneto Museum. The negro profile is one of the series identified by the signed fragments in the Villa Giulia Museum. The white girl wears a cap decorated with an ivy pattern. The cup mouth is plain. This appears to be a replica of the vase in Bologna. Fig. 6.

46. Rome—Villa Giulia Museum—from Vignarello. Cf. Della Seta, *Museo di Villa Giulia,* I, p. 111, no. 26026; Hoppin, *Handbook of Black-figured Vases,* pp. 72-3.

Fragments of a drinking cup in the form of an Ethiopian's head. They consist of a part of the cup mouth, two pieces showing ears and two pieces of a black painted band, one of which bears the inscription. The decoration of the cup mouth is identical with that of the Charinus cup in the Corneto Museum. There is no question that these are fragments of a negro's head. Fragments of both ears show that they were painted black, and the hair around them is in raised dots

left in the color of the clay. Even the shape of the ear is identical with the Morgan vase.

47. Rome—Vatican—Museo Gregoriano Etrusco. Cf. *Museo Greg.*, II, pl. LXXXIX; Helbig, *Fuehrer*, ed. 1912, I, p. 326, no. 532; Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 15; Pottier, *Monuments Piot*, IX, pp. 138 ff.

Janiform cantharus which combines a head of Heracles with a negro's head. Helbig suggests that the Ethiopian may be intended for Busiris because he is contrasted with Heracles. This seems unlikely, since the head of Heracles is also found in combination with the girl who so often forms the other half of the janiform Ethiopian vases. As Ridder suggests, the other head is Omphale. Fig. 7.

48. St. Louis—Museum of Fine Arts. Cf. Furtwängler, *Sitz. Mün. Akad.*, 1905, p. 243, no. 8; Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 14, n. 5.

Cantharus in the form of the head of an Ethiopian woman. She wears a cap. The flesh is painted black, leaving the lips in the red color of the clay. The teeth are shown and are painted white, recalling the oenochoe in the collection of Prof. D. M. Robinson (189). The hair is indicated by wavy, incised lines instead of the usual raised dots. Eyes and eye-brows are painted. Myrtle branch on the cup mouth.

49. Vienna — K. K. Oest. Mus. — Castellani Coll. Cf. Brunn, *Bullettino*, 1865, p. 241; Schneider, *Jb. Kunst. Samml.*, III, 1885, p. 7, n. 5; Masner, *Sammlung Antiker Vasen*, p. 55, no. 347, pl. VIII.

Cantharus with a band at the top ornamented with palmettes in the red-figured technique. The lower part is the head of a negress (Masner does not say a woman) wearing a cap, under the front of which appear a few rows of raised dots to indicate hair (Procles technique). Prominent jaw, broad nose, high cheek bones, thick lips. The work has been carefully done. The flesh is painted black, leaving hair, eye-brows and lips in the red color of the clay. The eye-balls are painted white and the teeth show white between the large, protruding lips. Pupil and iris are marked by incised circles. Behind the head is a broad red band decorated with white

borders and dots. The ear is modelled with a rosette earring out of a lump of clay. Excellent and careful work of the severe style. Ht. 0.178 m.

50. —from Etruria. Cf. *Bullettino*, 1866, p. 236; Seltman, *A. J. A.*, XXIV, 1920, pp. 14-15.

Janiform cantharus with the conjoined heads of a white girl and an Ethiopian woman. The face of the white girl is pale and somewhat archaic in type. Above both heads is the inscription ὁ παῖς καλός ναί.

Pitchers—Single Heads

51. Berlin — Antiquarium — Sabouroff Coll. Cf. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung*, II, p. 515, no. 2203; Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 12 and p. 42, fig. 59.

Oenochoe in the form of a negro's head. The flesh is painted black. The lips and hair, which is indicated by raised dots, are left in the original color of the clay. Ht. 0.17 m.

52. Berlin — Antiquarium — from Athens. Cf. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung*, II, p. 515, no. 2204.

Oenochoe similar to the above. The work is more careless. The mouth of the vase is broken off. Ht. 0.07 m.

53. Brussels—Branteghem Coll. Cf. Pottier, *Mon. Piot.* IX, 1903, p. 153, n. 2; Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, pp. 11-12, fig. 15.

Janiform oenochoe with trefoil top showing the conjoined head of a girl and an Ethiopian. The latter seems in this instance intended to represent a woman since only a band of raised dots indicating hair is shown, back of which is a cap painted black and decorated by a wreath of ivy leaves.

54. Baltimore—Coll. of D. M. Robinson. Cf. Seltman, *A. J. A.*, XXIV, 1920, pp. 14-18.

Oenochoe combining a bearded male head with the head of an Ethiopian woman. Most of the color is gone from the vase and the work is poorer than that of the other known vases of the type. The vase mouth is stocky and not graceful. Attic vase of first half of fifth century B. C. Greatest height, 0.18 m.; of face, 0.045 m. Width of face, 0.04 m. Fig. 8.

55. Naples—National Museum. Cf. Heydemann, *Vasensammlungen des Museo Nazionale*, p. 447, no. 2950 (Photo Sommer 11079); Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 12.

Oenochoe in the form of a negro's head. Ht. 0.15 m.

56. —from Svessola—Italian imitation? Cf. *Not. Scav.*, 1878, pl. V, no. 8, p. 397; Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. K.*, XI, 1919, p. 12.

Vase in the form of an Ethiopian's head. Enough of the mouth remains to show that it was probably an oenochoe. The head is covered by raised dots of clay. Forehead is sloping, eyebrows prominent, nose broad though pointed, lips thick and everted.

It was on the ointment vase, as Buschor points out, that the Ethiopian first appeared conjoined with another head in the art of Naucratis in the 7th century. And it is on the ointment vase of the sixth that it was first shown by the Attic potters. This vase form always gave the potter the greatest opportunity for display of individuality in treatment. It needed only a narrow mouth and small handles and lent itself to variety and innovation. Since its shape was not prescribed it was the starting point for novelties of design which eventually influenced other vase forms as well.

The Attic ointment vases in the form of double heads show a profound advance over those of Naucratis. The funnel-shaped vase mouth and vertical handles, while they are the same type, have been refined. The mouth rests on a more slender cylindrical neck and the handles which support its edge are less clumsy. They now rise from the side of the head instead of from the hair above the center of the forehead. The ointment vase type from Naucratis had little grace, since the chins of the two heads were enlarged and extended to meet and form the oval base upon which the vase rested. In the Athenian vases the chins are normal in outline, and the necks of the two heads are moulded together so that the vase rested upon the flat circular base at the bottom of the neck. But the similarity of the two types is so pronounced as to leave no doubt in regard to their relation.

From the ointment vase the type was soon adapted to pitchers and drinking cups with one or two handles. Some have single and some double heads.

The foregoing twenty-six vases showing Ethiopian heads have many characteristics in common. Practically all show the hair by means of tiny lumps of clay. In the technique introduced by the vase of Procles the skin is varnished black, while hair and lips are left in the color of the clay. The eyes are painted and sometimes additional details are added. All the vases show a desire for effective contrast. The hair was left dull in order to emphasize the shiny black skin. On the janiform vases the severe white face is introduced for sharp contrast. The white face and black cap are set over against the black face and dull hair. It is a type which recalls the archaic maidens from the acropolis. While the archaic smile is not pronounced, the large wide-open eyes recall the older technique.

The greatest contrast between the Greek and Ethiopian types was in features and skin. The regular, somewhat archaic nose and lips of the Greek girl offset the snub nose and protruding lips of the Ethiopian, and the pale color of her skin emphasizes the shiny, black flesh. One suspects from the spirited expression of these Ethiopian faces that the artist took the greatest pleasure in portraying them, and that the rather severe white face was introduced to contrast with the black, rather than the reverse.

The potter is more important than the painter in the case of these plastic vases. He created the mould into which these faces were pressed. That the Athenian plastic vases were pressed into moulds rather than poured can be seen from the fact that the insides of these vases are rough and show finger-marks. The points of the two parts are clearly visible on many examples. Often the lip was thrown separately on the wheel and attached. The rôle of the painter was secondary and consisted only of the painting of the features and head dress.

Once the master potter had made the mould it could easily be used again either by the potter himself or by others in his workshop. In a number of instances we have replicas of plastic ware showing that this was done. "The Greek potter did not use the mould as a labor-saving device. He employed it only where the work demanded it, as in the Athenian plastic ware. Here we sometimes find the same mould used several times . . . but the number of such repetitions is not great, and certainly could not indicate mass production." [1]

A hunt for replicas among the Ethiopian heads shows the single heads all to be distinct and individual types. But on the double heads the same mould is employed seven times—on the Boston, London, and Paris ointment vases, the Bologna and Princeton drinking cups and the Brussels pitcher. On the Boston vase two Ethiopians are conjoined. On the others the Ethiopian is combined with a white girl. Likewise this Ethiopian is more masterly than the others. Who made this splendid mould, used in at least seven surviving examples?

Because the same mould of the white girl has been employed on another vase with the love-name Epilycus, these plastic vases have been attributed to Scythes, who employs the same name. On the face of it this seems slim evidence for assigning plastic vases to a man known only for painting. Perrot and Buschor come very close to the truth when they speak of these heads in conjunction with the beautiful head by Charinus in the Berlin Museum. No one seems, however, to have brought forward definite evidence connecting these double heads showing the negro type with Charinus, and the references have always avoided a definite assignment by references to the workshop or influence of Charinus or unknown artists of his circle. Even Buschor does not seem to know the signed fragments in the Villa Giulia Museum.[2]

To Charinus this finest of the negro heads can be assigned

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[1] Richter, *The Craft of Athenian Pottery*, p. 28.

[2] Cf. *Not. d. Scavi*, 1916, pp. 53 ff.; Hoppin, *Handbook of Greek Black-figured Vases*, pp. 72-73.

beyond possibility of doubt. The vase in Princeton and the fragments in the Villa Giulia complete the evidence. The white girl of the Princeton vase who is conjoined with the Ethiopian head is identical with the single head in the Corneto Museum which is signed by Charinus himself. The fragments of a negro head in the Villa Giulia Museum with a cup mouth, similarly decorated showing it to be a companion piece are also signed by Charinus. The fragments showing the ear, hair and a bit of the skin are identical with the Ethiopian mould used as the other half of the Princeton vase which we know to be a replica of Charinus' signed vase. The other vases are all replicas of this. It is not surprising that so excellent a head as our negro should be the work of a man whose skill as a potter is evident from the great beauty of his signed vases.

But it is not necessary to suppose that Charinus always used his own mould. In fact this is not possible for two of the double heads are put together so badly that the adaptation can not be the work of his own hand. The ointment vase in the British Museum shows two heads put together entirely without grace, and the Brussels pitcher leans and is not well proportioned. The Boston, Paris, and Princeton vases are well put together. It is likely that Charinus who made the mould, modelled and signed the two vases in the form of single heads with the cheese board pattern on the cup mouth, and that the other vases were made by artists of his workshop who had greater or lesser skill. This is further borne out by the fact that the painted details differ greatly on the vases from the same mould. On the signed Corneto vase the painting of the cap is very delicate and skilful, while on the Princeton vase it is very coarse.

Charinus made vases on which the painting was both black-figured and red-figured. He is placed in the early fifth century by Della Seta, but Buschor rightly places the girls' heads by Charinus between the years 520 and 510 B. C. It was known that Charinus made both pitchers and drinking

cups. Now that the negro mould made by Charinus has been identified with him, it is evident that he—or his workshop—turned out ointment vases as well. As these are agreed to have had an earlier popularity than the pitcher and drinking cup styles, the dates 520-510 B. C. are not too early for Charinus.

The single heads of Ethiopians, as we have said, so far present no replicas. There is no chain of evidence connecting any of them with known vase painters such as we have in the case of Charinus. The majority belong in the transition period between the two wares. The Boston cup with the single handle has an elaborate black-figured design. The Vienna cantharus is red-figured. Not many of the vases are inscribed. No information is to be gained from the Vienna cantharus. On the Athens vase the love-name Leagrus shows the vase to be from the transition period as Leagrus' name occurs on black-figured and red-figured ware alike. It can not, however, help in identifying any one vase maker as it occurs on vases, the work of at least fourteen men and many others not yet identified. Calliades is known to be a maker of plastic vases and some of the unidentified heads may some time be brought into relation with him. Buschor believes the Leagrus head to be the last of the series of Ethiopian heads in Attic art.

The interpretation of these Ethiopian heads depends in some measure on whether they are meant to represent men or women. There is great disparity about this in the museum catalogues. Even the Charinus mould is interpreted in both ways. All doubt is removed here by the fact that the Brussels pitcher shows the Ethiopian with a woman's cap of exactly the same type as that of the white woman on vases. And no one who is truly familiar with the negro type of our own Southern cities can fail to realize that there is something indefinably feminine about this head particularly when viewed full in front. The oenochoe in Dr. Robinson's Collection and the canthari in St. Louis and Vienna are clearly meant to be

women, since the hair is bound up in a cap or turban similar to that worn by the Ethiopian woman on the gem from the Lewes Collection now in Boston. Negresses in Greek art are not so rare as Dr. Seltman would have us believe when we have at least eight instances before the fifth century is well under way. On the other hand, the impression of certain heads is as definitely masculine as these are feminine—for instance, the Frankfurt and Boston cups with the single handle.

The fact that the two sexes are shown on these vases precludes their interpretation as any one definite mythological figure. Memnon and Andromeda were not considered black in the sixth century before Christ. Dr. Seltman would like to follow Mayor and see in the female Ethiopians a representation of the monster Lamia of Libyan origin, with whom Greek mothers frightened their children. It is true that Dr. Robinson's vase shows large teeth which do not appear in the others. In spite of this, however, the face does not seem sufficiently hideous for the conception of Lamia. She is more probably a type which happened to interest the artist. The other vases certainly are not meant to be Lamia. They are not grotesques or caricatures—they are simply naturalistic.

Nor is there any basis for interpreting the off-set heads from the point of view of any allegorical contrast such as day and night. In such a case there would surely be some attribute such as sun's rays or stars to call attention to the meaning. It is true that Pausanias in describing the Chest of Cypselus relates that the woman who symbolizes Night holds in her arms the two children Sleep and Death, the former portrayed as white, the latter as black or dark (V, 18, 1), probably in the same way as a woman holds two children on a British Museum vase. However, the Greek word employed is μέλας, which is nowhere a synonym for Αἰθίοψ. Death is elsewhere portrayed as black. If Death had been rendered with the features of an Ethiopian, Pausanias would have specified as he did in the case of the nude Ethiopian boy standing

near Memnon in Polygnotus' painting of the lower world (X, 31, 7). It is improbable that the heads on these vases have any further significance than racial contrast for the sake of conviviality.

Helbig suggested that the Ethiopian on one of the double-heads was Busiris since it was coupled with Heracles. In the first place the Ethiopian probably represents a woman. Heracles is as well known as a heavy drinker as for his Busiris episode as witnesses Euripides' Alcestis; and in the second place there could be little point in combining Busiris with a white girl as on most of the vases, or Busiris with Busiris as on the Boston vase with the two Ethiopians. The same applies to the suggested identification of the white girl with Omphale, when she appears conjoined with Heracles. It would have no point when the white girl is conjoined with the satyr or Ethiopian. In the third place Heracles' drinking gives a hint as to the reason for the type. The vases in the form of heads have certain fixed types used singly or in combination—white girls, satyrs, Heracles, Ethiopians. Perrot suggests that the white girl is a nymph or Maenad. This is probably right, for although her features are in the severe and expressionless technique of the early period, she has a vine or garland on her head-dress. All but the Ethiopian type—nymphs, satyrs, the great drinker Heracles—are appropriate types for a revel or drinking bout. The Ethiopian—perhaps an echo of the Naucratis revellers—is a novelty, something to tickle the sense of humor and add to the gayety of the feast.

Granted that these Ethiopians are taken from life, as the Charinus negro certainly is, there is much left to guesswork as to what part they played in Athenian life in the sixth century. Probably they were first brought from Naucratis whither they had been brought from some region of the upper Nile. That they were slaves is without question. They were also indubitably a great novelty in sixth century Athens and would therefore be reserved for entertainment rather than for menial work. They waited on their master's tables at banquets, as

their frequent presence on drinking cups would imply. As at least eight distinct types served as models there must have been at least eight, both men and women, in Athens. The others were probably sought as models after Charinus had popularized the type. There can be little doubt that he created a great demand for these Ethiopian vases when chance has preserved as many as eight replicas, a large number for a work-shop in Athens where vases were so seldom duplicated. The presence of Ethiopian boys on gems of the late sixth and early fifth centuries, together with these Ethiopian men and women is clear evidence of an established slave life for the race at Athens.

Everything, however, combines to show that they were never common in Athens and must have been rare in the sixth century. Theophrastus who wrote his *Characters* in the early third century has a man of "Petty Ambitions," who aims to do the fashionable thing at all times. This man is careful to have an Ethiopian for his attendant. Had Ethiopian slaves been common even in Theophrastus' time, it is not likely that the rich and fashionable would have affected them. They must have been unusual and expensive. From this it follows that they were even more rare at Athens two or three centuries before. One gets this feeling from the vases themselves, where the artist seems to have experimented in the portrayal of a new and curious race. There is no race prejudice even in the heads which offset the black type against the white. The contrast is shown in a spirit of sympathy which indicates that the artists saw in them comedy rather than homeliness.

A keen sense of the comic interest of the Ethiopians is the predominating element in the next use of the type on vases, a form which is the special study of Buschor in his article on Sotades. There exists a small group of vases, of Attic fifth century workmanship, in which a drinking cup mouth with red-figured painting is combined at the base with a plastic group showing an Ethiopian boy seized by a croco-

dile. The two somewhat unrelated parts of the cup are unified by making the tail of the crocodile curl up to form the handle of the cup. The style of painting is different in each case but the design of the plastic group is the same. The crocodile has seized the Ethiopian's right arm in his jaws and grasps him around the waist with his left forepaw, pulling him down on his right knee. The pose of the boy gives the artist an opportunity to show his skill in modelling the muscular structure, and there is striking realism in the pain expressed by the wide open mouth and eyes. The conception of the boy struggling in the grasp of the river animal inevitably calls to mind the struggling Laocoon group, though the latter is morbidly tragic and the former comic in intent. The humorous effect is heightened by contrast with the gaiety of the scenes painted on the cup mouth above. As Buschor points out, the artist was familiar with the Ethiopian type but not with the crocodile, since the animal is far from true to life, particularly the head. He thinks it probable that the artist conceived the idea of this plastic group from stories of the Nile told by returned travellers. It seems more likely that Sotades must have seen crocodiles at some time and have attempted to reproduce them from memory. A vase signed by him was found at Meroe and is now in Boston. If he had never seen the animal it is improbable that the legs and claws would be as well rendered. The Egyptian origin of the subject is now made certain by a faïence representation of a crocodile with a severed negro's head by its side, recently acquired by the Egyptian section of the Berlin Staatliche Museum. It is published with illustrations in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1928, pp. 77-82. It resembles in style the faïence ointment vases pictured by Buschor, *op. cit.*, figs. 49 and 50, and is probably from the same factory, dating about 600 B. C. An Italic rhytum in Naples (H. 2958) with a severed negro's head, shows the continuance of the type (*Arch. Anz.*, 1928, p. 81, figs. 3 and 4).

The theory which Buschor sets forward in his article is

that this group of vases, together with others in the form of animal heads, can be assigned to Sotades, from the resemblance between the bands of painting on the cup mouths and the painting on other vases which are signed works of Sotades. The article was worked out in such detail as to leave little room for doubt, but it has been confirmed beyond dispute by the finding of Sotades' signature upon the vase from Meroe in the form of a rhytum with a cup mouth, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.[3] The plastic group at the base is a horse and rider. Buschor is interested mainly in the animal and the band of painting; but he has also assembled many instances of the Ethiopian type in connection with the figure on these vases, and has made a classification of the vases in the form of plastic heads which paved the way for Sotades' crocodile group. As has been said, he failed to complete the identification with Charinus.

These Attic fifth century vases are the earliest examples of the comic association of negro and crocodile, a motif very common in the magazines of humor a generation ago and still found in the souvenir statuettes sold at southern resorts. Buschor distinguishes between the crocodile vases which are of genuine Attic fifth century workmanship, and those of later Italian workmanship which were made to imitate them. The Attic examples are the following:

57. Boston—Museum of Fine Arts, 98, 881. Cf. *Annual Report*, 1898, p. 72, no. 48; *Arch. Anz.*, 1899, p. 145, 48; Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 3, no. 3, pls. 1 and 2, figs. 32 and 33.

Drinking cup, the lower part a plastic group of an Ethiopian boy struggling with a crocodile. The cup mouth is ornamented by a band of red-figured painting showing two satyrs and two Maenads. The crocodile was painted green, with details added in black. The Ethiopian's flesh was painted black. Eye-lids, eye-brows and hair were painted

[3] Cf. *Boston Museum Bulletin*, April 1923; Hoppin, *Handbook of Greek Black-figured Vases*, p. 474.

brown, the lips red and the teeth white. Ht. 0.24 m., length of base 0.202 m.

58. Van Branteghem Coll.—formerly Tyskiewisz Coll. Cf. *J. H. S.*, IX, 1888, p. 220, fig. 2; *Hoffman Sale Cat.* no. 99; Froehner, *Coll. Branteghem*, 291, pl. 48; Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 3, no. 4, and p. 4, fig. 3.

Vase similar to the foregoing. The band of painting on the cup mouth is different, but has the same subject, i. e., satyrs and Maenads. Ht. 0.255 m.

59. Dresden—Albertinum—from Nola. Cf. Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 3, no. 2, figs. 2 and 34.

Vase similar to the foregoing. The band of painting is poorly preserved, but the four figures on it were warriors and women. Ht. 0.225 m.

60. Munich—Museum Antiker Kleinkunst—from Italy. Cf. Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, IV, 1912, p. 74; Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 2, no. 1, figs. 1 and 35; Sieveking, *Arch. Anz.*, XXVIII, 1913, p. 22, fig. 2, no. 12.

Vase similar to the foregoing, but much restored. The band of painting shows two maidens, one in hunting garb and two draped figures. Ht. 0.235 m. Fig. 9.

To these vases which are genuine Attic examples, Buschor adds another which probably belongs in this class:

61. Catania—Museo Biscari. Cf. F. de Roberto, *Catania* (Bergame, 1907) p. 122; Buschor, *Mün. Jb. Bild. Kunst*, XI, 1919, p. 4, no. 5.

Vase similar to the foregoing. It is decorated only with a lozenge pattern and branches, which are arranged over each other in the manner of a frieze.

It is evident that there was slight use of the Ethiopian as a subject for archaic terra-cottas. One specimen is listed from Athens and the museum catalogue calls it a negro. No illustration is available by which to judge the racial type, though the catalogue calls the work crude. Since only one example seems to occur it is possible that the figurine is not intended for an Ethiopian, the crudity of the work having made this a plausible supposition.

62. London—British Museum—from Athens. Cf. Walters, *Terra-cottas*, p. 75, B 27.

Archaic terra-cotta figurine of an Ethiopian (?) on horseback with a basket of fruit in front of him. The back of the figure is not modelled.

There are only a few gems of the fifth century which represent the negro. An agate scarab, dating from the first quarter of the fifth century, of excellent Etruscan workmanship from Corneto, now in Boston, shows a little negro attendant holding a sponge and squatting on the ground in front of Peleus (Beazley, *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems*, pl. A, 16). A Greek intaglio of the free style of the end of the fifth century, now also in Boston, shows the head of a negress with an ample kerchief wound about it. The frizzled hair appears in front and behind. She wears earrings and a necklace. It is a wonderful head with warm, rich modelling, a real masterpiece (Beazley, *op. cit.*, pl. 3, 52). The negro appears also for a brief period on the coinage of Athens and Delphi (cf. Seltman, *Athens, Its History and Coinage*, pp. 97, 200).

VITA

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During her graduate residence she held two Fellowships from Vassar College and was awarded a Johns Hopkins Scholarship. She was also elected to membership in the Johns Hopkins Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. The year away from the University (1918-1919) was spent in research for the Foreign Trade Bureau of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York.

The subject of this dissertation was suggested by Professor David M. Robinson, who has most generously supervised and assisted in all stages of its preparation. The writer wishes to express her appreciation of all that she owes to his broad scholarship and sound teaching. She also wishes to thank Professor Tenney Frank, who read a portion of the manuscript and made several suggestions.